1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

651 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He
648 passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in
spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by
624 the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 140.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a
624 tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit
624 to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who
● 431 gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would
439 praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

[p. 51-b]

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trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssŭ and his retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

Most of the foregoing information was collected in Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yüan Ming Yüan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all
618 the noble families and their members. Even the girls are noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles,
574 the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, I, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [430] 622 701 At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

• 431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P.102a]

171 /25 cont'd/
584 demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

583
584
171

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 382 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in marrying them off. Mo [201] Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Mo 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begin by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families. I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of
43/ bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs
[604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

/44 cont'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
●431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

2: Schram--49 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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M /46 cont'd/
231 pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.
585 They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to
431 their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is pre-
583 sented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl: 1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (boléro type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 For the son-in-law: 1) Chinese cap
431
583 2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
585 For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
431 For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
583 For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
602 For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
[287] For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made ~~to the~~ wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the King of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ab, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find 585 574 lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

M 585 /61 cont'd/

M 731 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M 593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home..., then she is

M 606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the

M 607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1).

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

585 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard,
431 and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire. The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters...." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody
[423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585/68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuĭ t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": "Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
● 431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

2: Schram--78 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

M /70 cont'd/
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"And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11) Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

'To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content.' Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

585 /74 cont'd/
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of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 262 264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 431 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...., "Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 #31 231 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations. In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push [604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578 in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

2: Schram--88 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts [431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[620]

IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

• See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]
loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãñ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sẽrãñ, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

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4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

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Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

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2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done [793] only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama..

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consulta- [604] tion with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes [621] part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. [262] Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be conse- [431] crated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest [604] respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang [431] and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[431] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the [574] men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right [562] and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is [574] taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [431] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain [533] melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important source of revenue. They last for several months and are organized by the various intendancies in their own behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6b, 9a, 10a, 12a.

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung. 175 775 792 787

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family. [431]

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the 175 775 792

[p.67(B)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

[p. 68(A)]

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the report of Huo Tu-t'ung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces. 175x

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands. Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left.

On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things. 175x 703 471 [262]

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince 175x

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [782] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] M [252] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

M [794]

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

M [412]

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat.

N *563 M 273 [431] Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some